

ENGLISH VERNACULAR WORDS IN OLD LATIN CHURCH CHARTERS

By the Rev. JOHN MORRISON, D.D.

I

AMONG these are included words now part of our common speech, whether strictly vernacular or not. In the old Latin church charters there are not many religious or theological terms. The charters are legal documents which do not ordinarily contain religious terms. Further, strange to say, nearly all our finest religious words are not in the strictest sense vernacular. They are Latin, the language of the charters, or they come to us from Latin through Norman-French. One expects the language of religion to be the language of the heart, *i.e.* to be vernacular, but it is not so with us. Of Faith, Hope and Charity, Faith and Charity are not strictly English. Grace, Mercy and Peace, the three elements of the Pauline salutation, are all of foreign origin. On the other hand, Heaven, Earth and Hell, and Father, Son and Holy Ghost, all are vernacular, although perhaps the old name for the Third Person in the Trinity, the "Holy Ghost," is now superseded in Scotland by the non-vernacular name, "Holy Spirit." In the documents of the first Union General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in October 1929, "the Holy Spirit" is the name always used. In the Revised New Testament of 1881 (American version), the old name was avowedly set aside: it had quite lost its religious savour. As far back as Wycliffe, in the fourteenth century, the change had begun. In his New Testament we read, "God is a spirit," which in the Anglo-Saxon had read "Gast is God." Although the Anglo-Saxon "Gospel" has not been superseded by "Evangel," yet "Salvation" has quite superseded the Old English "soul-hele" or "hele," *i.e.* soul-health or health: "Saviour" has superseded "Haelynd," *i.e.* healer or health-giver, and in both cases the change has given undue prominence to the lower idea of deliverance from the penal consequences of sin, and has lessened the association of salvation with the higher idea of deliverance from the power of sin. While the noun *Salus*, used by itself, *e.g.*, as a greeting, signifies "welfare," "health," on the other hand the common phrase *salus animae* as regularly signifies no longer the Anglo-Saxon sense of

“soul-health,” but only the deliverance of the soul from the future penalties of sin. Over and over again the charters declare that an endowment is gifted to a church *pro Dei amore et salute animae meae et uxoris meae et antecessorum et heredum meorum*—for the salvation of my soul and my wife’s and my ancestors’ and my heirs’. The salvation of the souls of the dead ancestors can, of course, mean only their deliverance from the pains of Purgatory or of the lower regions.

Vernacular religious terms are hardly met with in the charters, because the language of religion itself was so largely Latin or Norman-French. Practically all the Christian virtues, including—shall we say, *more Hibernico?*—the seven deadly sins, as named by Chaucer, and practically all the parts of Divine Service—praise and prayer and sermon or preaching—and the seven sacraments have Latin or Norman-French, not vernacular names. As we owe our finest ecclesiastical structures to the Norman period, both in England and in Scotland, so manifestly we owe our finer religious language and culture. The human clay of the potter was native, but the influences moulding it into fine shape were foreign. A Saxon knight, although he remained a “knight” under these Latin or Norman-French influences, became a “verray, parfit gentil knight.”

As one might expect, in spite of such influence, the names of the days of the week remained Anglo-Saxon in ordinary use. The Latin for Saturday was *Sabbatum*. The Scottish post-Reformation use of “Sabbath” as the Christian Sabbath comes out in one charter of 1600, referred to in the *Lindores Chartulary*.¹ Otherwise, why should the charter in question be dated *die Sabbati, vulgo Setterday*? although this particular care about a date may simply have been in order that there might be no mistake. In vernacular charters we find the same care. A vernacular charter of Cupar Abbey of 1539, for example, specifies the two days for payment of rents as “Beltane, the fest of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and Lammes callit *ad Vincula Sancti Petri*.”² In the Latin charters, Sunday is always, as it still is in Latin countries and in some non-Latin, *Dominica* [*dies*]*—the Lord’s day.*

II

Scottish Latin church charters throw a considerable light upon the meaning of certain ecclesiastical terms now current. To begin with the word “church,” that term, the definition of which involves the whole question of where lies the supreme authority in matters of religion—the question which divides Protestant from Roman Catholic—it is a commonplace that certain nations, mostly Latin, have kept to the New Testament

¹ P. 382.

² *Reg. of Cupar Abbey*, II, 5, 27, III.

term, *ecclesia* (the general meeting) and its variants, while other nations, mostly Teutonic, including ourselves, have adopted an entirely different word, "kirk," a finer and more Christian name, pronounced or mispronounced by the Anglo-Normans as "church." It is the Greek, *κυριακὸν* or *κυριακή*, the Lord's [house], which came into Anglo-Saxon as "cyrice." Scots are not ashamed of their distinctive name, least of all in its purest form, "kirk." Yet let us not be puffed up about our "kirk." Otto Jespersen¹ believes that *kirika*, church, and certain other Christian words were quite familiar to certain Teutonic peoples on Greek-speaking borders long before they themselves were Christianised. "Christian churches with their sacred vessels and their ornaments," he says, "were well-known objects of pillage to the German invaders of the Roman Empire." We got the word *kirk*, with its deformation, "church," he believes, because we were looters of *kirks*!

The medieval Latin Scottish charters seem not to contain the word "kirk" except in proper names like Channelkirk,² Kyrkpatryk, Kirktown, Kirklands, etc. Thus we do not get direct light from the charters upon the meaning which the term bore. But the usages of *ecclesia* no doubt reflect the current meanings of the vernacular word. In the earlier charters, *ecclesia* invariably refers to the building, monastic or parochial, in which worship was celebrated, as our own word "kirk" does in its commonest use. Inferentially, *ecclesia*, *i.e.* kirk, is sometimes used to signify those in authority in the sacred building or the corporation of monks therein residing and worshipping. "Church," therefore, in these medieval Scottish charters signified a building. A typical bequest runs:³ "I wish that the foresaid church . . . and the brethren [*i.e.* friars] of that place hold the said endowment."

Mater ecclesia in the charters was the Roman Church in a strictly maternal sense. We recall that the Pope's own diocesan church in Rome, St John Lateran, claims upon its main entrance to be the mother of all the churches of the city and the world. *Matrix ecclesia*, on the other hand, in the charters, is the central building in relation to her daughter chapels throughout her area or anywhere situated. And because the *matrix ecclesia* retained certain rights in connection with the people attending her daughter chapels, the name in the charters is often best translatable by "the parish church."⁴ A curious confirmation of the use of *matrix*, as contrasted with *mater*, may be noted in a Cupar Abbey charter,⁵ where the river Tay, in reference to her contributory streams,

¹ *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, 1912, p. 40.

² Childenkirk as it is written, *i.e.* Kirk of the Children or massacred Innocents.

³ *Inchaffray* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), III, 2.

⁴ *Liber de Dryburgh* (Bann. Club), Charter 279, "Matrix et parochialis ecclesia."

⁵ *Register* II, 284.

is called *Matrix aqua de Thay*. In the Latin charters there is no suggestion whatever of any mysterious significance in *ecclesia*, and therefore in "church," whether parochial or monastic.

Similarly, "parish," *parochia* [*παροικία*, beside the house or building] stands quite distinctly for the neighbourhood of the church building.¹ *Domus* (*οἶκος*) is the regular word in the charters for the church-buildings of a body of monks, including their church. The parish, *παροικία*, *parochia*, was the environs of the house. The parish took shape round the building: the building was not erected for it. The building preceded the parish. In some of the earliest even of the charters, there is certainly mention of "parishes," although the actual *English* word, "parish," is not known to occur until the very end of the thirteenth century. In Chaucer, a century later, it is a familiar word. In the word "parish" in the earlier charters, there is, therefore, no suggestion of a district assigned for spiritual oversight, and still less that the whole of Scotland was divided into such districts. The early charters, in fact, give a definite impression of Scotland as a land containing localities and spots peopled and cultivated, with roads connecting them, but with great stretches uncultivated, covered with coarse grass and broom and thorny bushes, with heather and marsh and bog, not to mention hills and mountains. The amount of common pasture [*communis pastura*] constantly referred to in connection apparently with every hamlet is proof of what has been said about Scotland generally. Another proof is that the now all-comprehensive word "landa," land, signifies in the early charters *uncultivated* land. The disguised vernacular *landa* is not infrequently met with in the charters.

The complicated subject of the origin of the parochial system in Scotland as a division of the country into geographical areas for effective pastoral oversight as "cures of souls" is passed over as not germane to the subject.

In the medieval Church, buildings arose, but they were not for pastoral oversight: they were used for worship but not specifically for public worship: for prayer but not for common prayer. Suffice it to say in passing, that long after the mission spirit of the Celtic missionaries had decayed and died,² two influences are to be seen at work restoring a sense of responsibility in the Scottish churchmen for the souls of their fellow-men. One was the incoming of the preaching friars, the Dominicans, in the thirteenth century, but of their appearance there is scarcely any evidence in the charters. The other is the new presence of the Roman diocesan bishops, whose position as responsible supervisors of

¹ E.g., *Inchaff.*, Ch. III, 46.

² Lingering traces of the Celtic missionaries and devotees may be seen in some of the charters, where we meet the word *hermita*, hermit, apparently applied to a member or members of a Culdee house. See *Inchaff.*, pp. 5, 7, 249, 265, 266.

Christianity in their several areas seems to have kept alive or stimulated a sense of responsibility for the souls of men in general. Very feebly often, and yet perceptibly, the bishop is seen resisting the monastic and cathedral establishments as they sucked the blood out of the parochial and local churches and chapels. Charter 38 of the *Liber de Dryburgh* is illustrative of the state of matters described. It is the confirmation by the Bishop of St Andrews, the famous David de Bernham, of the conferring of certain churches upon the Abbey of Dryburgh *ad proprios usus*, in 1242. "Since the canons of Dryburgh," he says, "are strenuously devoted to compassionate labours . . . receiving all and sundry poor people, strangers and guests,¹ since also they are heavily burdened with a heap of debts by . . . the building of their monastery . . . we have granted to them that for their several churches . . . which have been granted them by our predecessors *for their own uses* . . . they may present one of their canons to us and our successors as a *vicar* [a deputy minister] who may receive from us and our successors the cure of souls, *curam animarum*, so that there may be resident vicars in the several churches—with each several vicar some secular priest of good repute—*honestus sacerdos secularis*—being associated, by whose assistance the vicar may be relieved and aided so that the fruits of those churches may go to the use of the convent [*i.e.* the Abbey] for whose support our predecessors granted those churches." The bishop, while allowing the fruits of the "appropriated" churches to go to the Abbey, insists on the appointment of a secular priest to act as each abbey-vicar's curate, or man-in-charge, in order that the pastoral charge should not be neglected.

In the next following charter this vicar's curate is designated the "secular vicar," showing that the double delegation of pastoral responsibility was quite understood. There was a vicar to whom the bishop gave "the cure of souls," and there was also the vicar's vicar. A still later stage was when, either by arrangement or by insistence on the part of the bishops²—another instance of the bishop championing the "cure of souls"—the remuneration of the vicar's vicar was fixed at a certain figure, a poor petty allowance, no doubt, and he became in the language of some charters a "vicar pensioner" or an allowanced vicar.³ It was no doubt with the development of this system of ill-paid and degenerating deputies of deputies that the name "curate" first acquired its bad odour in Scotland. "The curate his creed he could not read," says one of the Scottish pre-Reformation *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, at the same

¹ The entertainment of guests, including friends of the brethren and religious persons in their travels, was a recognised function of a religious house. *Reg. Cupar Abbey*, II, viii; II, 109.

² *Liber de Dryburgh*, Ch. 40; *Lindores*, Ch. cvi.

³ *Reg. Cupar Abbey*, I, 251 (1497); I, 274 (1508); II, 6 (1539).

time as the English Prayer-book taught to pray for all the clergy comprehensively as "Bishops and Curates."

As germane to the subject, we note the Latin phrase *cura animarum*, in English "the cure of souls," a pastoral charge, although the earliest known instance of the phrase in English is in 1340, a century later. When it first appears in English it is, strange to say, again associated with bishops, not with ordinary clergy. The statement is about "Holy Bisshopis which had cure of mannes soules." We note also the phrase *ad proprios usus*, "for their own uses," constantly recurring in charters conveying churches to monasteries, the phrase almost lifted into English and made vernacular in the English phrase "appropriated churches." "Appropriating" as a euphemism for pinching or stealing, is not, according to the *New English Dictionary*, derived from that medieval Latin phrase, however appropriate that derivation would be. Its ill-repute is certainly as old as the Reformation. Vernacular charters in the Register of Cupar Abbey¹ enjoin certain persons that they "sall nocht appropriatt nane of the commonty to thame selffis."

III

In the Dryburgh charter, No. 40, already referred to, several other expressions are noteworthy. As already noted, the bishop is here seen requiring fixed stipends for the "secular vicars" in his diocese. Four of these "secular vicars" are spoken of as "ministering" in their respective churches: the fourth, for no reason that can be seen, is spoken of as "serving" his church.

It is also noteworthy that this charter of 1268, emanating from the Bishop of St Andrews, is entitled: "Regarding the *ordination* of secular vicars in the diocese of St Andrews"—*super ordinatione*, etc. The word "ordination" is repeated in the text. In these charters, *ordinatio* means simply "arrangement" or "appointment" or "decision." One of the Dryburgh charters, No. 37, speaking of a dispute as to certain payments, says that both parties agreed to submit to the ordination, *i.e.* to the decision or arrangement, of the bishop.² In the charters there is not a shred of the mysterious significance of the word *ordination* with which we moderns are familiar. No instance of the English word is known until the last years of this same thirteenth century.³

¹ II, 60 (1549); II, 134 (1557).

² Exactly the same meaning of ordination appears in an Inchaffray charter—Ch. LXXX, p. 70.

³ The Latin, "ordained," is apparently used in the same ordinary sense of "appointed" in a charter of Cupar Abbey, I, 305, in the year 1479. The language of a Lindores charter, XCIV, certainly sounds more modern: "We enjoin that chrim, holy oil, consecrations of altars or of churches, ordinations of your monks

In the same charter all the secular vicars, except one, are to have manses provided for them by the Abbey. The vicars themselves, however, are to keep up the manses. But the Latin word in the charter is *domicilium*, not *mansus*, *mansum* or *mansa*, for all three forms occur. The fact was that the Latin word, "manse," still signified a portion of ground sufficient for a living, or, at most, a house with that amount of ground attached to it. The manse, in fact, was the glebe. It is not until three-quarters of a century later that Du Cange, in his *Medieval Latin Dictionary*, refers to a charter, quoted in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, in which the word "manse" is employed, the part for the whole, to signify the curate's residence only. Du Cange complains of the misuse of the word—"Interdum mansus usurpatur pro sola aede curiali." Similarly Charter No. XCI, of date 1262, of the *Chartulary of Lindores*, speaks of the "messuage," i.e. dwelling-house, of the parsonage of the church of Collessie, whereas the docket, possibly centuries later in date, describes it as "*De manso juxta ecclesiam de Cullessy*." No instance of the English word "manse," in its modern sense, is known before the sixteenth century. In a vernacular charter of Inchaffray, 1609, there is mention of the "mansis and gleibis" of certain parishes.¹

Other modern terms, such as "patron" and "patronage," begin to show themselves in their original senses in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century charters. The original sense of "patron," *patronus*, was exactly the Latin sense of the word, i.e. the protector, fosterer, and sometimes the endower of his clients. The "right of patronage" had a property value for two reasons: because (1) even "perpetual" gifts were apparently not completely alienated from the donor or his estate: they were revocable and required fresh confirmations. (2) The endowment was conceived of as the endowment of the beneficiary for the time being, not of an office or a *corporation sole*. That original medieval meaning of "patron" still survives in the expression "the patron-saint" of a city, nation or handicraft. In an Inchaffray charter,² the Earl of Strathearn is called "patron" of the diocese of Dunblane, and the Pope actually uses the same expression in his letters. "Patron" cannot there mean one entitled to appoint the bishop. Nevertheless the modern sense of "patronage," as the right of presentation to a living, is explicitly included, as we see in a document in the *Chartulary of Lindores*,³ of the end of the fourteenth century, which, translated, runs—"The right of patronage is the power of presenting anyone for institution to a simple benefice when vacant."

or clerics who may have to be promoted to holy orders, be provided for you by the diocesan bishop without any extortion."

¹ *Inchaff.*, Ch. XI, 171.

² *Inchaff.*, Ch. LX, 51; *Lindores*, Ch. LII, 57.

³ Pp. 211 and 281.

The picture of the final stage of degradation of so many of the pre-Reformation parochial charges does not fall to be traced here, but it is depicted in some of the later charters, both Latin and vernacular. Its shamelessness is interesting. The district local churches with all their incomings, including even the church offerings, had become merely a property, carrying certain burdens as other properties might do. They were leased out with all legal formality like farms, in some cases for nineteen years. One illustrative charter is entitled "Tack of the Church of Alwecht (Alveth or Alvah, Banffshire), to Walter Ogilvie, Knight."¹ It leases out "all and hale oure teind schawis (sheaves), fructis, rents, offerandis, and emolimentis of our parochie kyrk of Alweycht, baith personage and vicarage, with the perteness, by and within the diocye of Abyrdene for all the dais and termes of nynetene zeris. . . . The saidis Walter . . . payand thairfor zeirly . . . to us . . . the somme of threscor fourtene pundis . . . togidder with ten pund zeirly to the vicar pensionar with his glebe and manse. . . ." Similarly, in the case of the leasing of Airlie kirk to the vicar pensioner himself, Sir Johne Smytht . . . "allowand his fe in his awin hand," A.D. 1550.²

IV

Of all the non-vernacular terms which we find in the old Church charters, the most interesting, and in some ways the most difficult to translate, is the now familiar name for a clergyman of the Scottish Church, viz., "minister."

The difficulty is twofold. 1. What is the history of the term? 2. When we do reach the word within the terminology of the Christian Church, what is its precise signification, and particularly in the Scottish Church? Regarding its history—(1) It is a mistake to associate the word with mere service or subordination. In the word there is always the idea of filling some office or performing some function. (2) There are in this connection two different sets of words, from the New Testament onwards, which are not to be confused. There is the one set—*δοῦλος* in the Greek New Testament, *servus* in the Vulgate, servant or serf or slave in Middle and Modern English. The other set is *διάκονος* in the Greek New Testament, "minister" in the Vulgate, and "minister" and "deacon" in Middle and Modern English. In the New Testament the antithesis of *δοῦλος*, servant, is *κύριος*, *dominus*, lord or master; and the antithesis of *διάκονος*, minister, is the head or the entrusting superior—the great one. *Δοῦλος* always suggests the servile relationship: *διάκονος*, an office filled or a service rendered. More than once, St Paul calls himself a *δοῦλος* of Jesus Christ—Jesus was his lord and master,

¹ *Reg. Cupar Abbey*, II, 5.

² *Ibid.*, II, 87.

viz., Ἰησοῦς κύριος. He also not infrequently calls himself and others the διάκονος of Jesus Christ, or of the Gospel or of the Church, etc. But the distinctive use of both terms is clear, and it is thus clear that "minister," in its modern Scottish ecclesiastical use, if the name has come to the Church through the Vulgate, comes with the significance of the New Testament διάκονος, Vulg. minister, not with the significance of δοῦλος, *servus*.¹

We come to the medieval church charters, therefore, with the knowledge that the word "minister" is to be associated with an office filled, or a service rendered, and not with servile dependence. Perhaps some ministers will regret the severance of the idea of selfless service from the name by which they are known. A minister's boast is that he is at the service of rich and poor in his parish. Let these remember that they must still as individuals feel themselves, along with St Paul, the δοῦλοι of their κύριος, their Lord, Jesus Christ. Let it also be noted that although St Paul does speak of himself and others as "ministers of God," the more frequent and more appropriate term for those who approach the Almighty, and do work for Him, is, of course, "servants." In Old Testament phraseology a regular conventional term for a religious man is "a servant of God," for a woman, "God's handmaid." To worship God is "to serve Him" both in the Old Testament [e.g., Ps. c.] and in these Latin charters. A Pope's depreciatory designation of himself is regularly: "Ego . . . servus servorum Dei."

There remain, however, difficulties with the term "minister" within the Scottish church charters themselves. It often has a merely secular signification. Scottish church charters granted or issued by a king, often begin, as the charter, c. 1180, of William I to his brother David, prior to the founding of Lindores Abbey by the latter, begins—"William, by the grace of God king of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, provosts, ministers (*ministri*) and all good men of his whole land, clerics and laymen." It is, or perhaps rather it was, a question whether *ministri* in such places meant "ministers" in the ecclesiastical sense or "ministers" in the political sense, still surviving in such phrases as "the King's Ministers." In such and similar contexts, *ministri*, it is now agreed, means holders of office, state officials. But it is equally unquestionable that "ministers" was also in common use as an ecclesiastical term. The late Professor Cooper quotes from Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*² to illustrate the ecclesiastical use of *ministri* in the end of the sixth century—*Cum ministros altaris inter se conquirentes audiret*, etc. " (Columba) while yet a young man . . . when he heard the ministers of the altar complaining among themselves of the lack of wine (for the sacrament) . . .

¹ The English R.V. is not consistent in its translations of the words.

² II, 1.

at that time he himself was ministering, *administrans*, in the order of the diaconate. . . . The holy bishop and his ministers."

When we come to the Middle Ages, e.g., 1262,¹ we find bishops regularly designating themselves "by the divine pity," or "mercy, humble minister of St Andrews," etc. A bishop is *humilis minister*; a Pope is *servus servorum Dei*. Nearer the time of the Reformation, the name is quite frequently and unmistakably used in an ecclesiastical sense. In the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 26th May 1424, and again similarly in 1425, it is enacted that the "Hali-Kirk and its Ministers joiss and bruk [enjoy] tha auld privilegis and fredomys." In Gunn's volume on the Cross Church, Peebles, we read of its "Minister" in 1471.² In 1543, Knox signs himself *Joannes Knox, sacri altaris minister Sancti Andreae dioceseos, auctoritate apostolica notarius*. In 1560, the very year of the Scottish Reformation, we read again of the "Minister of the common prayers in our kirk of Peebles." The Reformed Scottish Confession of 1560, embodied in an Act of the Scottish Parliament of the same year, speaks of the "ministers" of the Church of Rome.

Two points, therefore, in the history of the vernacular "minister" are made clear from these church documents. 1. "Minister" is used with an ecclesiastical signification, although not exclusively so, in medieval times: that is, the name minister is not a new post-Reformation name. Even the *Catholic Encyclopedia* acknowledges this. 2. The ecclesiastical name generally, although not invariably, carries with it a suggestion of ecclesiastical office or function discharged by the person so designated.³ The "minister" was the ministrant or officiator.

The only point still calling for explanation is—How did the name minister come to be used, *sine addito*, so frequently in England⁴ and so universally in Scotland? One can quite understand how, in the Prayer-book of to-day, the name survives in its common pre-Reformation sense of "ministrant." Its universal use in Scotland, *sine addito*, simply as the name of the calling, is also very easily explained. After the Reformation, when the clergyman ceased to have the old right to Church properties and teinds, the old designations of "rector," "vicar," "curate," "parson"⁵ (or *person* in whom the properties and teinds were legally vested) ceased to be applicable. When the properties and teinds passed out of the possession of churchmen, those names could no longer be in

¹ *Lindores*, CXLIII.

² P. 11.

³ But see Gunn, pp. 32, 39, 40.

⁴ For the use of "minister" in the Church of England, see England, *Cal. of State Papers*, 1637, p. ccclxx, No. 90, quoted in W. Holden Hutton's *William Laud*, p. 72—"The minister of the parish"; *Canons Ecclesiastical*, 1603, No. 32—"No bishop shall make a person deacon and minister both upon one day."

⁵ The name "person" or "parson" was not limited to England. It appears frequently in the charters, e.g., *Inchaffray*, p. 31, it occurs thrice, always of course with a locality associated, e.g., "the parson of Crieff."

the old significance. Some names, like "curate" and "priest," were doubly doomed: they had become tainted.¹ There was no name except *minister* left. Where we do find the old designations used of the Scottish churchmen immediately after the Reformation, as we sometimes do, they are only survivals of the former usage continued with still surviving priests, etc.: when we find them in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they are only revivals of the former usage. In Knox's first arrangements for the services of the Reformed Church, it is therefore only of "ministers" that we read, and the name has remained the recognised designation of the clergymen of the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (s.v. "Minister") declares that Calvin objected to the name "priest" (*sacerdos*) "as involving an erroneous conception of the sacred office," and asserts that the general Protestant use of the designation, *sine addito*, is due to Calvin. But that is, as we have seen, an overstatement.

The only name that really competed with "minister" was "preacher." The name is of frequent occurrence in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. Even the pre-Reformation Church desired in some of their last decisions that their parsons should become preachers. They were enjoined to preach so many times a year, and special preachers were to go round the parishes. Knox in his *History* frequently speaks of "our preachers," "the true preachers of God's word," etc.²

V

The various terms employed in the charters to designate the clergy may be distinguished as follows:

1. Implying rights in the endowments and regular income of a church

¹ Cf. *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, *passim*.

² Here are some interesting entries of that transitional time quoted from Archives of Peebles in Dr Clement Gunn's book. The first is pre-Reformation:

"1555, Jan. 24:—Friar Gilbert Broun, *Minister* of the Holy Cross of Peebles, bound himself and his successors to implement the obligations contained in an assignation . . . of the teinds of said lands." That is a pre-Reformation "minister"—the name used as in modern times.

The second is just after the Reformation—1560, Nov. 28:—"The Bailies and the Council . . . modified to John Dickson, Minister of the Common Prayers in our kirk of Peebles, forty pounds . . . for his services of this instant year: the sum to be uplifted by John Dickson out of the readiest of the parson's goods and gear." A later entry in December records the arrestment by John Dickson of a quantity of corn standing in the Archdeacon's yard. There a post-Reformation minister is identified with his sacred office generally.

The predominating idea of the ministerial office is seen in another burghal entry in the same month of December 1560.—"1560, Dec. 20. The bailies were ordered to pass to Edinburgh . . . and get a minister to shew the True Word of God and to modify him a reasonable fee."

—Rector, Persona (parson), Vicarius (vicar), Vicarius pensionarius (salaried vicar).

2. Implying connection with clerical duty in a building or locality—Capellanus (chaplain), Curatus (curate), Minister, Episcopus (bishop).

3. Implying connection with a religious Order—Canonicus (canon, *i.e.* one bound by a canon or rule), Frater (friar, brother), Abbas (abbot), Prior, Monachus (monk).

4. General professional designation—Clericus (cleric, clergyman *or* clerk, secretary), Presbyterus¹ (presbyter *or* priest).

The use of *monachus*, monk, varied in the charters of different localities. In the Lindores charters, for example, the inmates of the monastery are regularly designated *monachi*: in the Dryburgh they are as regularly designated *canonici*. In two Lindores charters of the middle of the thirteenth century² we do meet the term *canonici*, but only in the special sense, apparently, of *cathedral* canons. We read that the Keledei (Culdees) of Dundee who had supplied the Brechin Cathedral chapter were thereafter to be known as *canonici*. In the Dryburgh charters, on the other hand, *heremita* (hermit) occurs once or twice, and probably signifies a solitary devotee of the old religion of the Culdees. After the Reformation *monk* and *friar* are often synonymous terms.

It is not always easy to distinguish whether "*clericus*" means "*cleric*" or "*clerk*." The sense is clear when a charter speaks of the "*clerici et laici*." On the other hand, when a nobleman in a charter speaks of "*clericus noster*," he probably always means his secretary or clerk. His *clericus*, in fact, would mean his learned man who was able to write his deeds and keep his accounts. *Clerici* seems in some places to mean the ordinary secular clergy in contrast to the members of the various Orders³—"Ordinaciones monachorum seu clericorum"; and a lawyer pleads "*clerici et monachi sunt re et nomine diversi*." In one charter at least,⁴ a distinction is drawn for our aid between "*vicar*" and "*chaplain*." At all events it is arranged that a certain *appropriated* church shall be served, not by vicars, but by chaplains. What is implied no doubt is that the chaplain was a mere salaried *curatus*: he had no rights, not even those that, in some cases at least, the bishop had secured for the vicar-pensioners in his diocese.

The untranslated vernacular terms in the old church charters are either proper names which the notary, who drew up the charter, did not attempt to transform into Latin, or they are terms which the notary was uncertain how to translate. In the latter case we may be grateful for

¹ E.g., *Lindores*, Ch. XCIV, pp. 110, 111.

² Charters XCIX and C.

³ E.g., *Lindores*, Ch. XCIV, 109, and CXLIX, 204.

⁴ *Inchaff*, LXXX, p. 71.

the ignorance of the notary, for a number of these untranslated terms give us peeps into the life and surroundings of the people of those days such as old chronicles or political histories very seldom afford.

As the charters deal largely with transfers of land, those untranslated terms are largely connected with the soil. They reveal to us the different names for pieces of ground, according as it was cultivated or uncultivated or tenanted: also, the vernacular names for the trees and plants which grew upon it, particularly those trees, shrubs and plants which grew wild. For the names of the wild plants we can understand that the notary would often have difficulty in finding the Latin equivalents. For the names of the different tenures of land and of the various classes of cultivators, the Latin language had probably no precise equivalents. A number of the names of the animals which were bred for food or employed by the people for transport or in agriculture are untranslated or only half Latinised. Of legal terms untranslated there are not a few. And, finally, the adjuncts of monastery or landlord's mansion, the brewery, the waulkmill, etc., and the materials for building and thatching, were a difficulty for the Latin-drafting notary, as such terms still are to the Latin student when called to descend from Ciceronian grandiloquence into the language of common life. Pity the poor notary, no great hand at Latin at his best, who had to draft a conveyance of a bit of land to Lindores Abbey for laying down or stacking their peats or other fuel—*ad ponendum sive staccandum petas suas sive focale*. *Focale* may be Latin, but "*ad staccandum petas*"!

